

that he himself became a disciple of the Compassionate One, entered the Order and became an *arahant*.

12 A IV 172 foll. *Kastbhāradvāja-sutta* (Sn p. 12) *Vasala-sutta* (Sn p. 21) relate similar stories.

13 M I 108.

14 *Danḍa-pāṇi*, lit. meaning 'Stick-in-hand' or 'Staff-in-hand' is evidently a nickname, and not his real name. He was so referred to because he always carried a stick or a staff. The Commentary says it was a golden staff, *suvaṇṇa-danḍa* (Ps II 73). Such nicknames were not uncommon in ancient India, and they indicate a healthy sense of humour among the people. *Huhumkā-jātika*, *Dīgha-nakha*, (both already mentioned above), *Kūja-danta* 'Pointed-tooth' (D I 127), *Dīgha-jānu* 'Long-knee' (A IV 281), *Anguli-māla* 'Finger-garland' (M II 97), *Tamba-dāṭhika* 'Copper-coloured-beard' (Dhp-a II 35; 203) are some examples.

15 See G.P. Malalasekera, *DPPN*, s.v. *Danḍapāṇi*.

16 Ps II 73.

17 See D I 90.

18 Ps II 73 describes vividly how he planted his stick in front like a 'cow-herd' (*gopāla-dāraka*), put his palm on it pressing his jaw on the back of his palm.

19 M I 108-9.

20 *Sampasādaniya-sutta*, No. 28 of the *Dīgha-nikāya*.

21 *Kevaṭṭa-sutta*, No. 11 of the *Dīgha-nikāya*.

22 *Yāvāṇīvam pi ce bālo paṇḍitam payirupāsati, na so dhammam vijānāti dabbī sūparam yathā.*

23 *Muhuttam api ce viññū paṇḍitam payirupāsati, khippam dhammam vijānāti jivhā sūparam yathā.*

24 D III 81-2.

25 Sv III 862.

26 Harsh, insulting, offensive words are considered 'weapons of the tongue'. Cf. Sn 657: *Purisassa hi jātassa, kuthārī jāyate mukhe* 'Indeed an axe is born in the mouth of any person born'.

27 Ud 66-9.

28 Dhp-a I 39-43. *Mātaṅga-jātaka* (No. 497) also relates a similar episode.

29 Dhp-a II 138 foll.

30 Sp 1336-7.

31 *Ariya* means 'Noble One', but the term is used in opposition to *puthujana* 'worldling'. In this sense, the term *ariya* refers to any person—monk, nun, layman or laywoman—who has realized one of the eight stages of 'holiness'. For details, see s.v. *ariya*, Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, Colombo, 1972. But in our story, *ariya* evidently signifies an *arahant*.

32 Ps I 22,1-8.

33 Mp II 347.

34 This story is orally transmitted.

## A FURTHER NOTE ON PALI GOTRABHŪ

In an interesting article entitled 'Gotrabhū: Die sprachliche Vergeschichte eines philosophischen Terminus', published in 1978, O. von Hinüber has contributed to the discussion of the Pali term *gotrabhū*, which usually designates a person achieving the spiritual stage of an Ariya or Saint on the path.<sup>1</sup> And comparing for the etymology the word *vatrabhū* 'Vṛtrahan' (i.e. Śakra = Indra) appearing in S I 47 and Ja V 153, he has suggested that the element *bhū* corresponds to *han* and that *gotrabhū* accordingly meant 'das Geschlecht vernichtet' (p. 331).<sup>2</sup> The same interpretation has also been put forth by O.H. de A. Wijesekera in a short article, published in 1979, entitled 'The etymology of Pali Gotrabhū',<sup>3</sup> there the term is translated as 'killer (i.e. destroyer) of the *gotra*' (p. 382). Both writers compare also *bhūndahu* = *bhrūṇahan* 'embryo-killer'.

The explanation proposed by these two scholars is attractive inasmuch as it could indeed account for the use in M III 256 of *gotrabhū* in an unfavourable context.<sup>4</sup> As noted in my earlier article, this usage—which diverges from that found elsewhere in the canonical and commentarial Pali literature—is isolated; and it raises a difficulty so long as one supposes the element *bhū* to be related to the root *bhū* 'to be'. Their suggestion appears moreover to find support in the explanation given by a Pali exegetical tradition which interprets *bhū* as equivalent to *abhibhū* 'to conquer, overcome'.<sup>5</sup>

However, it is not altogether clear how this proposed explanation can account for the overwhelming majority of attestations of the term in the Pali scriptures and commentaries where the term is on the contrary used in a favourable meaning, and where a Pali exegetical tradition interprets *bhū* also as meaning *bhāveti* 'cultivates' (= *nibbatteti* 'develops').<sup>6</sup> Following Wijesekera (*op. cit.*, p. 382), it seems that we are to understand here that the spiritual aspirant by destroying the *gotra* transcends his worldly—and worldling (*puthujana*)—status in order to accede to a higher spiritual status. Yet not only is this clearly not the meaning of *gotrabhū* in the M passage referred to above where the context is

unfavourable, but we cannot even be certain that such destruction is precisely what was intended in the case of the other attestations of the term in the canon. As far as I can see, v. Hinüber's treatment of the matter does not clear up this difficulty either; and I know of no reason for supposing, as suggested by him (*op. cit.*, p. 332), that the *gotrabhū* was mistakenly (aus einem Missverständnis) inserted between the *puthujana* and the Ariyan stage of the *sotāpanna*.<sup>7</sup>

Apart from this problem connected with the explanation 'das Geschlecht vernichtend' and 'killer (i.e. destroyer) of the *gotra*', it is curious to find beside the (apparently MIA) form *bhū* = *han* not the usual MIA form *gotta*, but *gotra* which is phonetically irregular in terms of the Pali standard (though the cluster *tra* is of course attested in several other Pali words). In *vatrabhū* *vatra* no doubt provides a parallel (though it of course contains the MIA change *r>a*); and it may thus suffice to set aside any phonological difficulty. But the above-mentioned semantic difficulty in interpreting *gotrabhū* as *gotrahan* seems not yet to have been fully resolved. In any case, for the purpose of etymology in the strict sense, complete reliance cannot be placed on the Pali exegetical tradition's *nirukta*-type explanation which interprets the element *bhū* as meaning *abhibhavati*, especially in view of the fact that this same tradition has also given the hermeneutical interpretation by *bhāveti*. (Nor does the proposed etymology explain the word *gotrabhū* found in Buddhist Sanskrit.<sup>8</sup>)

Though ingenious and attractive in the case of the M passage, v. Hinüber's and Wijesekera's proposal hardly accounts then for the majority of attestations of *gotrabhū* in the Pali canon and its commentaries. Could it be that we have here in Pali a trace of the other meaning of *gotra* found in Sanskrit, namely 'matrix, vein-stone, gangue',<sup>9</sup> the Saint at the very outset of the Ariyan Path destroying this gangue and thereby freeing himself for progress on his Path? (This meaning of *gotra* would not, however, easily fit in the M passage. And although well-attested in Buddhist Sanskrit, it does not seem to have been so far recorded for Pali).

### Notes

- 1 *ZDMG* 128, 1978, pp. 326-32.
- 2 Another equivalence, *gotrabhū* = *gotrabṛt*, has been rejected, no doubt correctly, by v. Hinüber, p. 331.
- 3 In: *Studies in Pali and Buddhism* (Memorial Volume in honor of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap), ed. A.K. Narain, Delhi, 1979, pp. 381-2. The article by v. Hinüber refers back to the discussion by the present writer 'Pāli *gotta/gotra* and the term *gotrabhū* in Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit' in: *Buddhist studies in honour of I.B. Horner*, Dordrecht, 1974, pp. 199-210. Wijesekera, who does not seem to know this article, passes over in silence an important part of the Pali tradition alluded to in it.
- 4 See D. Seyfort Ruegg, 'Pāli *gotta/gotra* . . .', p. 200.
- 5 See *ibid.*, pp. 205-6, 208 note 3.
- 6 See *ibid.* This fact has been left unmentioned by Wijesekera, who refers only to the explanation by *abhibhavati*.
- 7 On p. 329 of his article v. Hinüber appears to imply that *gotrabhū* if interpreted as 'being in the *gotra*' is hardly understandable as a designation for a monk on the first stage of the path; if this is in fact what he means, I can see no reason for this statement, which its author does not amplify.
- 8 'Pāli *gotta/gotra* . . .', pp. 206-7. Evidently v. Hinüber is prepared to accept that *gotrabhū* may be a Sanskritism in Pali, following the suggestion made by the present writer in the article cited above, and also even that the Theravāda doctrine underwent influence from the Mahāyāna (*ZDMG* 128, 1978, pp. 329, 332).
- 9 Cf. D. Seyfort Ruegg, 'The meanings of the term *gotra* and the textual history of the *Ratnagotravibhāga*', *BSOAS* 39, 1976, pp. 341-63.